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CURRENT COMMUNIST LABOR TACTICS: (I) THE GENERAL WFTU LINE

A. Introduction

1. The Communist movement outside the Soviet-Satellite orbit is currently intensifying efforts to develop a powerful labor offensive. The Communist Parties control and coordinate the offensive on the national level, making use of all available assets: Party factory cells and neighborhood cells in factory areas, Communist youth and women's organizations, the national "peace" organizations, other "mass" organizations, and Party organizations in the trade unions. The Communist-led unions are key agencies in the campaign.
2. Communist-controlled unions are affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), which is the international central for the development of the labor offensive. The considerations upon which the Communists based the offensive and the tactics to be used were publicized at the Third WFTU Congress, held in the Soviet Sector of Vienna 10-21 October 1953, and have been most recently reaffirmed by the WFTU Executive Bureau, which opened its 25th session at Vienna on 23 March 1954. They are discussed in this brief.
3. The current offensive, which has already manifested itself in a large number of strikes throughout the free world, is aimed at: (1) re-establishing Party influence over the workers (i.e., "breaking out of isolation") and extending it to "other sections of the population" (peasants, professional people, white-collar workers, small businessmen, etc.), in order to (2) vitalize the "peace" movement and other campaigns connected with the Communist-Soviet interests implicit in the "peace" slogan.
4. The offensive is based upon the findings of the Communists that substantial "new opportunities" exist for exploitation. The WFTU Congress brought up to date the Communist analysis of the present "situation"--in both its universal and its regional aspects. The analysis professed to find throughout the free world widespread economic and social unrest, especially among the industrial workers but also reaching

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into other classes. The chief speakers* at the WFTU Congress analyzed this unrest and latent discontent, finding its "causes" to be: (1) the capitalist system of production in general; and (2) imperialism, aggravated by the "repressive" and "piratical" policies of the "monopolists" and their governments, which have been "enslaved" by the United States. In the "colonial and semicolonial countries" the Communist analysis finds a "rapid growth of the national liberation movement" and growing trade-union strength, on the one hand, and a "sharpening crisis" in the colonial system (frictions among competing "imperialist powers"), on the other.

5. The significance of the Congress can be summarized as follows:

- (a) The WFTU brought the Communist labor tactics more strongly into line with the tactics of the Communist movement, i.e., the new "united front" tactic developed largely after the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, October 1952. This is evident from the emphasis placed by the Congress on the issue of "National

* The principal speakers were Louis Saillant (General Secretary, WFTU), who gave the report, "Activity of the WFTU and the Tasks Arising for the Trade Unions in Strengthening United Action for Improved Living Standards and in Defense of Peace"; Giuseppe Di Vittorio (President, WFTU), who gave the second report, "Tasks of the Trade Unions for Economic and Social Development in the Struggle for National Independence and Democratic Liberties"; Ruslan Widjajasastra (Deputy General Secretary, All-Indonesian Trade Union Center, commonly known as SOBSI), who gave the third report, "Development of the Trade Union Movement in the Colonial and Semicolonial Countries"; and N. M. Shvernik (Chairman, Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR), who gave a general speech in which he drew an orthodox Stalinist comparison between the horrible condition of workers in capitalist and colonial countries, on the one hand, and the happy, peace-loving character of the trade unions in the orbit countries, on the other.

The Congress adopted resolutions on each of the three points of the agenda--discussed by Saillant, Di Vittorio, and Widjajasastra, respectively, in their reports--as well as on a number of other points of current interest. A "manifesto" for "unity," addressed to "workers of the world," was adopted, as were an "appeal to the workers and trade unions of the countries of Europe" (against EDC), and an "open letter" to "all trade union organizations and all trade unionists not affiliated to the WFTU."

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Independence." The WFTU Congress charged the trade unions with direct responsibility for "initiating" and heading the "broad united front."

- (b) The WFTU adopted as a technique of wider applicability the "positive approach" tactics of the Communist-controlled General Confederation of Italian Labor (CGIL)--specifically, the appeal to non-working class elements on the basis of "national independence" through a "progressive economic policy"--and in particular, the use of this technique in "Italy, France, Belgium, Holland, and, to some extent, Britain."
- (c) The Congress set the stage for an increase of effort by the WFTU and the entire Communist-dominated labor movement--particularly in the "colonial and semicolonial" countries of Latin America, Africa, the Near East, and Southeast Asia.

Of interest, but of less importance, is the fact that the Congress decided upon some changes in its leadership (principally, to include more representatives of colonial and semicolonial countries in its Executive Committee) and announced its intention to hold a number of regional conferences during the coming year. The Soviet speaker, Shvernik, emphasized the "strengthening of ties" between Soviet trade unions and those in capitalist countries, announcing that the number of "workers' delegations" visiting the USSR will be increased during the coming year.

- 6. The principle adopted by the WFTU to guide the Communist labor tactics was that of "UNITY OF ACTION." In simplest terms, this means that the Communist unions (i.e., WFTU affiliates) are to encourage, initiate, and participate in all actions of the workers for their basic economic and social "demands." By so doing, the Communists hope to re-establish and reinforce their "contact" with the workers, to convince the workers that the Communist unions always stand for the workers' real interests, and, eventually, to convince them that the real causes of their difficulties are those adduced by the Communists. "Unity of Action" is expected to lead to "Trade Union Unity" and, eventually, to "Working Class Unity." Meanwhile, by actively supporting the interests of "other elements," and by leading them to accept the Communist analysis and parts, at least, of the Communist program the Communists expect to greatly

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expand the "base" of their movement, hoping for the opportunity to build up a "broad fighting front against the domination and the unpatriotic and war policies of the monopolies."

7. The Communist sense of optimism for the success of the WFTU program was expressed by Louis Saillant (General Secretary, WFTU) in his Report to the Congress:

"We are not moving toward a weakening of our trade-union movement or to its retrenchment, the speaker declared. We are marching confidently toward a great broadening out of all our activities and our organizational system."*

8. The reassurance contained in the first sentence above was probably directed to allay whatever fears some Communist trade union leaders might have had that the "unity of action" formula represents a permanent retreat from Communist revolutionary objectives. It should have been unnecessary to make such a reassurance, for the WFTU Congress proceedings made it quite clear that the present tactics have far-reaching aims, and that any apparent "softening" of the Communists toward the "bourgeoisie" and the "social democratic traitors" is purely tactical: a means of getting a foothold in the ranks of the non-Communist unions and of exploiting differences of views among the non-Communists.
9. The issues upon which the Communists expect to generate further unrest through "unity of action," which in its turn will lead to the building of a "broad fighting front" for Communist-Soviet objectives, are compressed into slogan symbols as follows:

"Bread, work, freedom, national independence, and world peace are the pillars of the alliance of the workers and other laboring people which we advocate——!"

* From summary of speech carried in New Times, No. 44, Supplement. Henceforward in this chapter only the identity of the speaker will be indicated, without indication of whether the quotation has been taken from the text of a speech or from the New Times summary of the speech.

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10. In this chain of issues the economic issues are organically linked with the political ones. By building and reinforcing the economic-social labor base--the prerequisite for political action--the Communists intend to revitalize their political struggle. Hence the importance of Communist trade union work today. Or, as the official publication of the WFTU, World Trade Union Movement (1-15 Feb. 1954), puts it:

"The struggle of the working class for its vital, everyday interests, i.e., wage increases, the right to work, better social security, and so on, is linked more closely every day with the struggle of the whole people for freedom, national independence, and social development and world peace,' says the WFTU/Resolution on the task arising for the trade unions. To neglect one task for the sake of another would be a serious error.

"That's asking a lot,' some of our brothers may say. It is true. But is only possible to carry through these tasks on the condition set out by the Third World Trade Union Congress: forge ever stronger the unity of the workers."

The integration of the issues (economic-social and political) for "struggle" is paralleled organizationally by instructions to the unions to develop "close cooperation with the mass women's and youth organizations" and the local peace movement--with the unions, however, taking the lead in joint actions. On the international plane, the WFTU, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Women's International Democratic Federation, and the World Peace Council also work closely together to expand and intensify the campaign.

B. Tactics: Unity of Action*

There follows a summary of the content, aims, and methods of applying the principle of "Unity of Action":

By the intense exploitation of real economic and social issues, and the application of the tactics of "Unity of Action," the Communists hope to pave the way to trade union unity in support of Communist-Soviet political objectives.

*"Unity of Action" is the tactic to be employed in the "colonial" areas, as well as in the capitalist countries; to avoid complexity, its employment in the "colonial and semicolonial countries" is discussed in Section D. of this chapter.

1. Trade Union Unity Is the Goal of the WFTU

"The WFTU has never made any secret of the fact that unity is the goal at which it aims....

"Our fight for unity should lead to:

- a single trade union in each enterprise;
- a single national trade union federation in each industry or occupation;
- a single National Center for all the trade unions in any one country;
- a single world trade union organization." (SAILLANT)

2. "Unity"--for the Communist-Soviet Program, of Course

"Working-class unity has become a real and vital necessity. Millions of working people see in the unity of their ranks a mighty source of strength in the struggle against the warmongers and in defense of their vital interests."

The WFTU Congress is "a valuable contribution to the struggle for the consolidation of international labor unity, which is now more essential than ever in order to realize the aspirations of the working people for peace, economic and social progress, broad international intercourse, and friendship and cooperation among the peoples of all countries of the world."

3. The Way to Unity Is through Unity of Action

"We know that it is fundamentally from the worker's unity of action, and the close connection of the trade unions with the mass of the people, that every trade union unity will arise and be consolidated."

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"It is during the growth of united action that wider, more complete agreement becomes possible. These agreements can then become complete understandings between trade unions which had been opposed in the past, and which, during the development of their joint action, can help to bring about organic trade union unity."

"...We must take particular notice of these workers [i.e., members of unions belonging to the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)] and it is with them that we achieve unity of action. This unity of action must be extended in order to march with greater resolution, and in every part of the world, toward trade union unity." (SAILLANT)

4. Unity of Action Begins with Limited, Basic Material Demands

"United action by the workers must come about on precise aims. It can and must be practiced also between separate trade union organizations from the bottom to the top of trade union levels.

"Long experience in many countries has shown that in order to organize real united action, the trade unions must put forward clear, precise, and achievable objectives, often limited in time, to those who are called on to act in common, and to the different organizations to which they belong when there is a trade union split.

"United action between different trade unions presupposes a common program, even if this program contains only a single demand. The common program of united action is not necessarily the complete reproduction of the special program of the trade union organization affiliated to the WFTU." (SAILLANT)

5. Principal Economic-Social Issues for Struggle

Even the most basic of the economic-social issues which the WFTU seeks to exploit have strong political implications. The "struggle for higher wages," for example, is made a "struggle for higher real wages," which carries with it demands for tax cuts (by cutting defense expenditures), price controls, and full employment (by expanding consumers' industries).

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The material issues outlined at the WFTU Congress for use in the capitalist countries were:

1. Wage increases.
2. Full employment.
3. "Equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex, age, race, or nationality."
4. Against the speed-up and for guaranteed safety and health precautions at work.
5. Cuts in direct and indirect taxation.
6. Comprehensive systems of social security for the working people, paid for by the state and the employers.
7. Abolition of anti-working class laws, and the guaranteeing of trade union rights.

6. Unity of Action Begins at the Base--in the Factories

"We do not examine the questions of united action by the workers and organic trade union unity in general. We must examine them in the way that they arise in each country. But we know that there are some general principles valid for all countries.

"Here is a general, fundamental principle; it is at the base, in the united action of the workers, within the enterprises, that the best elements for the formation of organizational unity are to be found, for its consolidation at all levels, up to the top of the trade union movement." (SAILLANT)

7. The Communists Must Lay the Organizational Groundwork for Unity of Action

"The question of unity is not merely a question of policy, it is also a question of organization. Work for unity should be correctly organized. The factory trade union organizations should play a role of prime importance in this respect.

"Wherever trade union work is not yet organized on the basis of activity suitable for the factory trade union organizations, local or regional trade union branches, it is essential to advance quickly toward this form of organization, so as to be able to quickly further the united action of the workers and the question of trade union unity." (SAILLANT)

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8. In Favorable Circumstances, Unity of Action Can Be Effected at the Top, Between Communist and Non-Communist Unions

"... It is ... possible to achieve united action at the highest national level, between national trade union organizations affiliated to the WFTU and the ICFTU."

"... In Italy, the CGIL and the two other national trade union centers decided last month to organize and lead the limited general strike on the question of wages and dismissals."

"What is possible in Italy must become so elsewhere."

"By taking into account the special national trade union situations and the progress of the idea of united action, the decisions of this Congress will make still easier the making of contact from the bottom to the top --between the trade union organizations affiliated to the WFTU and ICFTU and the Christian trade unions' organization--at the same time that the Congress will call on the workers to strengthen united action at their places of work." (SAILLANT)

9. The Correct Approach to Unity: Principles

a. Correct understanding of the nature of the trade union.

The union is a "nonparty organization," a "mass organization." It is not a Communist Party and must not be expected to serve in this capacity. "When they set up a trade union or join it, if it exists already, the workers do not do this, generally speaking, for ideological or doctrinal reasons. They come together in trade unions first and foremost to defend their economic and social interests, to improve their living conditions, and to struggle against social injustice and exploitation by the employers. The role of the trade union is to struggle for the economic and social demands of its members and of the whole of the workers, whom it must unceasingly represent" It is wrong to "narrow down" the "organizational forms and methods" of the union "in order to force it incorrectly into the role which belongs to the political vanguard of the working class."

The role of the Communist Party was not, for obvious reasons, discussed publicly at the Congress. The Communist Party has the prime coordinating-control function and the

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duty to properly staff all the organizations involved in the campaign. It also has the key duty of preserving intact the basic Marxist (revolutionary) aim of the movement, and of using this aim as a constant guide in the immediate (nonrevolutionary) struggles.

- b. The unions must go out to the workers "to learn from them their real potentialities for action, to keep in permanent touch with them so that the trade union action is a real part of the activities of the whole people, not just the work of a minority."
- c. "Sectarianism and opportunism" must be overcome "not only in more or less theoretical speeches and writing on methods of trade union action, but in our daily actions and in the facts themselves."
- d. In the approach to members of non-Communist unions, the Communists must be patient in "explaining and convincing the workers ... of the real motives behind the attitude of the splitters, and the aims they are pursuing; to avoid the setting of one group of workers against another"
- e. "Trade union recruitment" should receive more emphasis and the unorganized workers should be invited "to join in mass actions, so as to prepare the way for their joining a union."
- f. More active participation of the workers in the unions' work should be encouraged by making the unions function "democratically" and by "organizing collective work within the trade union leadership."

10. Militancy Is an Integral Component of "Unity of Action"

"Analyzing the tasks facing the international working-class movement, Saillant noted that development of strikes for immediate and vital economic demands was a means that helped to heighten the militancy in defense of their trade union rights. We must stimulate, develop, and create this militancy everywhere, he said. This is the main task of the WFTU and its affiliated organizations."

"The right to strike must be fiercely defended, but the right to strike is not the only means of action. To obtain the recognition of trade union rights in labor agreements, the

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election of workers' delegates at the place of work and the right to display trade union notices in the factories are also other means of defending trade union rights. The trade union struggle, by consistently maintaining a high degree of indispensable militancy among the masses, protects the workers' trade union rights and their unions against the attacks of all their enemies."

"In all circumstances the demand for increased wages should be permanently included in the trade unions' program of action. This program must not present the demand as an exhibition piece. The program of the trade union is a program of action." (SAILLANT)

11. Tactical Errors: Too "Narrow" Demands

"Frequently, inadequate preparations ... and a lack of understanding on the part of the trade union leadership of the immediate needs of the whole of the workers harm the effectiveness of their ... work In Pakistan, for example, in the textile industry and in transport our brothers did not undertake actions, including strikes, for any but the lowest paid categories of workers This method led to the breaking of the united front of struggle within the factories and the workshops ... [the better paid] workers did not feel that they had direct interest in the action undertaken by the trade unions." (SAILLANT)

12. The Unions Must Cooperate with the Youth and Women's Movements

"If ... the current, day-to-day problems of the working class and the laboring masses generally, but also of the fundamental problems involved in their struggle for the national independence of their country, for the democratic liberties, for raising their living standards ... are to be effectively solved, there must be close cooperation with the mass women's and youth organizations which are fighting for peace and democracy.

"The Women's International Democratic Federation and the World Federation of Democratic Youth are doing much in this direction. Joint action of trade union, women's and youth organizations will lend still greater effectiveness to the WFTU's struggle in defense of the fundamental rights of all categories of workers." (SHVERNIK)

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C. The Political Issues

1. Character of the Political Slogans

The political issues and objectives of the Communists, symbolized in the slogans for "Peace," "National Independence," and "National Liberation," are not merely ends sought for. In the context of the current world situation, as "analyzed" by the Communists, these issues go hand in hand with the economic and social issues. By effective exploitation of the popular sentiments (and divisions among the people) for peace and nationalism, the Communists argue that these will enhance the trade union struggle itself through engendering general support. At the same time, they hope to raise "class-consciousness" among the workers; to lead the workers to take up a position significantly "advanced" over the program of the economic-social struggle.

2. "Peace"

"The fight for peace is the decisive task of all trade union organizations The world movement of peace supporters brings into being the alliance of the working class with other sections of the population." (SAILLANT)

The unions must support the "peace" program. "This does not mean," however, "that the peace movement and the trade unions must merge. It means that the trade unions must be able to develop their own activities, on their own initiative, in support of peace" The Communist trade unionists themselves "must carry out extensive work of persuasion and information among all trade unionists. They must also, and above all, appeal directly to the masses, and convince them, whenever it is necessary, of the need to join in the peace movement." And by means of the economic struggle, the unions are helping the "peace movement." "The trade unions, by fighting monopoly capitalism and imperialism, are thereby fighting all that endangers peace."

3. "Peace" Demands

The WFTU "peace" demands set out at the Congress were as follows:

1. "Against the policy of regression and war of the national and the foreign monopolies;

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2. "For an end to the ruinous arms drive;
 3. "Prevent the ratification of the Bonn and Paris Agreements, which, by aiming at the remilitarization of Western Germany, increase the risk of war;
 4. "For an end to the colonial war which the French colonialists, supported by American imperialists, have been waging ... against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam;
 5. "For the peaceful settlement of outstanding international questions."
4. "National Independence"

The slogan for "national independence" and the tactics to be used with it received much more emphasis than before, and represent a significant recognition of the correctness of the tactics of the Communist Party of Italy.

This campaign was the chief subject of Di Vittorio's report to the WFTU Congress:

"This problem, which in the past arose only for colonial and semicolonial countries and underdeveloped countries, arises today, though in a different form, for advanced capitalist countries, such as Italy, France, Belgium, Holland, and, to some extent, Britain."

Di Vittorio emphasized that the campaign for "national independence" could win for the Communist unions substantial support from "other sections of the population": not only those "whose feelings are offended by the direct or indirect domination of foreign imperialism," but also those "whose interests are harmed."

"... Trade union struggles for ... the most urgent and elementary economic demands of the workers ... must be mass struggles, struggles of the people in the sense that large sections of the people understand and support them."

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"To make their struggles popular, the trade unions must take up the demands of the other social sections* that are hit by the policy of the monopolies."

"The working class ... has the duty of allying itself with every other section of the people, whose interests are harmed and whose feelings are offended by the direct or indirect domination of foreign imperialism, and the duty of leading their struggle for complete and effective national independence."

" The national question in all dependent countries either directly or indirectly offers an objective basis for the formation of a broad fighting front against the domination and the unpatriotic and war policy of the monopolies."

5. A "Positive" Appeal in the Struggle for National Independence:
The CGIL Plan of Work

Di Vittorio's recommendation that Communists in other countries might profitably develop and utilize the CGIL Plan of Work, which has been effectively used in Italy as a justification for, and basis of, united actions, was one of the most interesting features of the Congress. The CGIL Plan is a "constructive," ostensibly moderate, program for the revitalization of "national," "peaceful" industries and the amelioration of economic maladjustments. The Plan is not nearly so moderate as it appears.

"The trade union movement must make a great step forward. This step must consist of opposing the economic policy of the monopolies--the policy of stagnation, regression, poverty, and ruin--with a truly working-class line of economic policy, a constructive policy of productive investment, full employment, development of the organization of production, and of the consuming capacity of the people--in fact a policy of economic and social progress in each country."

"This is the progressive ... policy which the CGIL has followed in Italy since ... 1949 On the basis of this

* Those whose economic interests are injured "by the increased domination of the monopoly groups over all the economies of the capitalist countries," aside from the "working class" itself, include: "the peasants, shopkeepers, artisans, workers in the liberal professions, the petty and middle bourgeoisie and even some sections of the capitalists (those who have no direct connection with the foreign monopolies and consequently do not share in their superprofits." (DI VITTORIO)

economic policy for national and human progress, the CGIL has led great mass struggles in every region of Italy during the last 4 years and gained considerable successes. These successes have added to its strength and prestige in the country and made possible great progress toward the unity of the working class and its alliance with broad sections of the middle class, progress on a wider scale than we have ever experienced before"

"We wish to hand on this valuable experience which the CGIL has gained to our brothers in other countries, so that they can consider whether it can be used by their own trade union movement, and to what extent." (DI VITTORIO)

6. How the CGIL Plan Works

"By the plan of work, the Italian working class has demonstrated to the rest of the people that it does not take up a negative attitude to the fundamental problems of national life ... , that it is capable of proposing immediate, positive solutions to the vital problems of the people, solutions which will immediately improve their lot, their living conditions.

"In addition, because the plan does not deal exclusively with the interests of the wage-earning workers, but also with the vital interests of the middle strata, the working class proves that it does not fight only for its own interests, but that it is also defender of the living standards and the progress of the vast majority of the population."

"The plan of work gives greater justification to our wage claims The raising of wages is also necessary to combat economic depression, to increase consumption, and to stimulate an increasing productivity and employment. This has proved to be a convincing argument and it draws large sections of peasants, tradesmen, and craftsmen, etc. into support for our struggle."

"The plan of work was extended to local plans."

"These regional and local plans contain a series of concrete specific demands ... on the basis of these demands, the struggle has been launched.

"The first fruitful example of this struggle was provided by the great masses of poor peasants and agricultural workers of the South"

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"In hundreds of thousands ... the agricultural workers began to move, seized the lands of the barons, and began to cultivate them

"We have forced a partial agrarian reform. Hundreds of thousands of acres of land have been handed over to the peasants. This is a beginning

"Another outstanding success ... [was an action set off by the Plan's demand for "raising underdeveloped areas of the country," in accordance with which the workers] launched at once a series of 'reverse strikes,' that is to say, they began to carry out the works forecast in the Plan (roads, canals, aqueducts, sewers, etc.), and they then demanded payment of wages by the public authorities." (DI VITTORIO)

"Considering that the policy of the monopolies is jeopardizing more and more not only the interests of the working class, but also the vital interests of the middle strata of the population, the Congress points to the need for the trade unions of all the capitalist and colonial countries to unite with these sections of the people and wage jointly with them a vigorous struggle for social and economic development and national independence, on the basis of concrete programs which must be drawn up in conformity with local conditions and for each branch of industry." (Resolution on the Second Item on the WFTU Congress Agenda)

7. "National Liberation"

"National Liberation" is the main political slogan in the "colonial and semicolonial countries."

"The trade unions in the colonial countries must always link the struggle for their economic and social demands with the struggle for the national independence." (DI VITTORIO)

The "rapid growth" of the national liberation movement is "one of the determining features in the postwar international situation and one of the main factors hastening the disintegration of the whole colonial system."

"The national liberation movement and the peace campaign have served to consolidate the trade unions in the colonial and semicolonial countries." (WIDJAJASASTRA)

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8. The Communist Unions in the Home Countries Should Help those in the Colonies in the Struggle for "National Liberation."

"Closer fraternal links, and greater mutual assistance between the trade unions of the colonial and dependent countries will help to raise the level of their struggles."

"The alliance between the workers and trade unions of the colonial countries and those of the imperialist countries will powerfully assist their common struggle for the national independence of the colonial countries and for the improvement of the standard of living of all workers. The solidarity which exists between the French working class and the workers in the countries oppressed by French imperialism is an example of such fraternal relations." (Resolution on the Third Item on the WFTU Congress Agenda)

D. Tactics in "Colonial" Areas

The program of the WFTU unions in the "colonial and semicolonial areas" is in principle identical with that for the capitalist countries. The application of the program and the "target" classes with which the colonial unions seek alliance naturally are different from those in the capitalist countries.

1. Unity of Action

Unity of action should be organized on the basis of "daily struggle to defend and secure social and economic benefits." (WIDJAJASASTRA)

These basic material issues for struggle extend further in the colonies than in the capitalist countries. They include not only "wages, working hours, social security," and "defense of trade union rights," but also issues of particular importance in backward areas:

better housing; opposition to "discrimination in wages and social benefits, the fight against illiteracy and for elementary schools in the native tongue, the problem of collective agreements, exploitation of women and child labor, etc." (WIDJAJASASTRA)

2. Peasants and Agricultural Workers Are Special Targets for the Communist Unions

"Parallel with the development of working-class action there ... [should] be an intensification of the struggles of the

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agricultural workers and the poor peasants in the colonial and semicolonial countries. In fighting for their specific demands against super exploitation and for ownership of the land and abolition of feudal relationships in agriculture, the workers of the countryside are becoming increasingly aware that they will never be able to change their unbearable living conditions effectively without fighting in close alliance with the working class against the domination of foreign imperialism and survivals of feudalism, for freedom, peace and independence."

The colonial unions "must work to win the support of other sections of the population, and particularly the peasants, artisans, and small shopkeepers. To this end slogans should be as concrete and precise as possible, and corresponding to the urgent needs of the broadest sections of the workers and the rest of the population." (WIDJAJASASTRA)

3. Special Difficulties--

"One of the main characteristics of the trade union movement in ... the colonial and semicolonial countries ... is that it is organizationally divided, a situation that is aggravated in numerous countries by ideological confusion." (WIDJAJASASTRA)

4. --And Their Solution

- a. "It is necessary to raise the ideological level and the level of activities of the trade union cadres, to use progressive methods and not to keep to the old ways and wait for others to approach us."
- b. "Wide enrollment of new members from the unorganized workers [is] ... one of the main factors in the development of the unity movement."
- c. "We must set up trade union organizations where they do not exist, consolidate and develop trade union organizations, and recruit new members--in order to organize all the workers, bind together the workers' organizations of the same industrial branch or the same trade, and help the workers to set up their unions on a national scale."
- d. "With regard to the leading elements of other trade unions, we should ... make efforts to cooperate with them. Unity could only be achieved in joint actions against imperialism and in the democratic spirit of mutual assistance, mutual concessions, a realistic approach, and earnest negotiations."

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- e. "Help continuously the best active trade unionists and raise rapidly their ability in trade union work to meet the needs in the developing situation ..."
- f. "It is fully necessary to unite with the national bourgeoisie to conduct struggles together. However, proper struggles should also be carried out against the conciliatory and wavering attitude of the bourgeoisie and against its excessive exploitation of workers." (WIDJAJASASTRA)

5. The Problem of Avoiding Suppression

"The important problem ... is ... the question of learning by what means and by what extent they [i.e., the trade unions] should utilize the illegal forms of struggle and how they can succeed to fight in conditions of illegality in order to lead all possible legal activity. It is obvious that in the prevailing conditions, in spite of all the repression and the terror which exists in the colonial and semicolonial countries, there is no country where certain legal possibilities do not exist for trade union activity. It is, therefore, essential for the unions to use these possibilities to the utmost in the interests of the workers, and to avoid getting into complete positions of illegality which would break contact of the trade union leaders with the workers and thus isolate the trade union organizations."

"The trade union should pay greater attention to rely on the strength of the masses for the protection of its own organization and cadres. We should not insist on definite forms of organization of trade unions and methods of activities. The main thing is the contact with the masses and re-establishment and broadening of the trade unions, when conditions become more favorable." (WIDJAJASASTRA)

6. Strikes Are Not the Only Form of Action

"We must constantly bear in mind that strikes are not the only form of action; other methods exist, too, the importance of which we must not underestimate: demonstrations, petitions, collection of signatures, marches, etc. ... All these forms of action should be employed flexibly in accordance with the specific conditions in each given country." (WIDJAJASASTRA)

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7. A "Constructive" Appeal in the Struggle for National Independence in the Colonies

A general proposal for the development of a "constructive" economic program in the colonial areas similar to that of the CGIL, but without detail, was made by Widjasastra:

"The trade unions must play an active part in the fight for economic independence of their country; they must work to shake off the backwardness of national economy in the colonies and semicolonies; resolutely oppose the policy of economic monopoly imposed by the imperialists, with America in the lead; and support free international trade, development of the national industry, and international economic cooperation on the basis of equality."

E. Role of the WFTU

1. General: Control and Coordination

The WFTU, as the international Communist labor central, is to continue to serve as the coordinator of the Communist labor offensive. It will also be important as the agency for the production and distribution of voluminous propaganda necessary to the "struggle."

2. Specific Plans

A few specific tasks were outlined for the WFTU:

- a. "The Congress has instructed the leading bodies of the WFTU to draw up a charter of 'Trade Union and Democratic Rights of the Workers.'" It will be "distributed in all languages, in all countries." It will be "sent for approval to parliaments and various democratic assemblies in every country and to both the United Nations Social and Economic Council and the International Labour Office [sic]." (WFTU Resolution)
- b. The "Congress recommends executive bodies of the WFTU and the Trade Unions Internationals [TUI's]:
 - a. "To expand their assistance to the trade union movement in the colonial and semicolonial countries;
 - b. "To help the trade union organizations in [colonial and semicolonial] countries to convene regional trade union conferences;

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- c. "To insure the development of the work of the Liaison Bureaux" of the WFTU. (Resolution on the Third Item on the WFTU Congress Agenda)
- c. "Adoption by the trade unions of the metropolitan countries of a series of measures for effective solidarity with the struggle of the colonial peoples for liberty and national independence." (SHVERNIK)

F. Improvement of Propaganda

The importance of increasing WFTU propaganda coverage was signified by the adoption of a special resolution on this subject. The main points made were as follows:

- a. The trade union press, especially small factory papers is "uniquely effective in coordinating action, exchanging experiences, and broadening unity"
- b. Where workers are illiterate, more use must be made of oral propaganda, posters, films, etc.
- c. WFTU unions must intensify their struggle to get freedom in printing and distributing propaganda in countries where this is restricted.
- d. The proceedings of the Congress must be publicized by a "great mass campaign."
- e. "The WFTU and the trade union organizations should work out appropriate ways of exchanging experiences of editors and distributors of the factory, national, and international press."
- f. The WFTU monthly, World Trade Union Movement, must be given wider circulation.
- g. "The Congress recommends that the trade union organizations set up networks of correspondents (workers, peasants, intellectuals, women and young people) for ... World Trade Union Movement to contribute effectively by supplying news, studies, surveys, articles of an educational nature, etc."
- h. WFTU unions should organize an annual "Trade Union Press and Propaganda Month," 15 April-15 May /in order to capitalize on May Day/.

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